

227 fishing, although they say that they formerly did so. They have no
 226 fish hooks and no fish traps. At the present time a few of the natives
 have learnt to take fish with hook and line, but they are unable to
 make hooks for themselves, and have to obtain them from the Settlement at Port Blair.

222 In collecting roots a digging stick is used, and a hooked pole is
 412 used for gathering fruit, but they have no other special implements in
 use in collecting natural productions, and have no need of any. The
 adze is used for obtaining molluscs and for cutting honey-combs from
 hollow trees.

411 It is thus clear that by far the most important utensil of the
 Andamanese is the bow and arrow. We may say that they are essentially a bow and arrow people. This is even more true of the natives of the Little Andaman Division than of those of the Great Andaman Division.

It may be noted here that the Andamanese have no weapons that are used only for fighting. They fight with their chief hunting weapon, the bow and arrow. Nor have they any special defensive weapons, the shield being unknown.

171 The Semang in their natural condition depend for their subsistence on collecting roots and fruits from the forest, on catching fish in the streams, and on hunting animals. Their mode of subsistence is thus essentially the same as that of the Andamanese. One difference is that they have not the sea from which to draw supplies, and another is that the forests in which they live afford a much larger variety of game. A number of the Semang now practice a little rude agriculture which they have undoubtedly adopted in imitation of their neighbours of other races¹.

The principal weapon of the Semang, as of the Andamanese, is the bow and arrow. In hunting they also use spears², thus showing a difference from the Andamanese. Some of the Semang make use of the blow-pipe with poisoned darts, but it is practically certain that they have adopted the use of this weapon from their neighbours the Sakai³. They also make use to some extent of traps with which to capture jungle animals and birds. The wilder Semang living in the mountains have little opportunity of obtaining fish. Those of them that dwell near rivers use fish-spears and harpoons for catching large fish, and a small basket-work scoop for catching small fry⁴. They also fish with

¹ Skeat, p. 341.

³ Skeat, p. 280.

² Skeat, p. 270.

⁴ Skeat, p. 205.

441 The true fish-spear is unknown in the Andamans though use is sometimes made of a harpoon similar to the turtle harpoon, but of smaller dimensions and with a finer line, for harpooning fish.

227 In the North Andaman a sort of fish-gig was formerly in use made of about twelve pieces of *Areca* wood of about 105 to 110 cm. long and 1 cm. or less broad and with tapered and sharp-pointed ends. These were fastened side by side by means of a strip of wood near one end, as shown in Fig. 26. This weapon was used for spearing small fish in pools on the reef.

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS.

412 At the present time the Andamanese make use of iron for their cutting implements. It is uncertain when they first learnt the use of iron, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. What iron they had was obtained from wrecks, of which there have always been a number on the Andamans. The metal has only become plentiful since the European settlement of 1858.

412 It is highly probable that the Andamanese, though they may have learnt the use of iron from implements used by visitors to their shores, have not learnt from any other people the method of working the metal. Even at the present day they do not make any use of heat in the manufacture of their iron implements, the metal being worked cold. It seems highly probable that they have simply adopted in connection with iron the methods they formerly used in dealing with other materials, particularly shells.

The materials used by the Andamanese, apart from iron, are wood, bone, shell and stone. We may begin by considering their use of stone.

412 In former times quartz flakes were used by the Andamanese for the two purposes of shaving and scarifying the skin, and for hardly any other purpose. (Among minor uses of stone flakes may be mentioned those of cutting the finger-nails, and sharpening boars' tusks.) A quartz pebble is held in the left hand and is struck with a hard rounded pebble of any suitable kind. A flake is thus knocked off and falls into the palm of the left hand. The flake is examined, and if it be suitable it is



Fig. 26.
North Andaman fish-gig

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at once used. If it be unsuitable it is thrown away and another made. For shaving, flakes with a sharp blade-like edge are required; for scarifying, flakes with a fine point are preferred. A flake is used till its fine edge is lost and is then thrown away and another made. Thus a woman who is shaving some one's head may use as many as twenty flakes one after another, and to obtain twenty suitable flakes she probably makes as many as forty or even more. The kitchen-middens or heaps of refuse that are found on the sites of old encampments contain thousands of quartz pebbles that have been used as cores, and thousands of flakes.

Besides quartz there is a flinty kind of stone that is used in much the same way for making flakes. Suitable pieces of the stone are obtained and are placed in the fire for a few hours. They are taken out, and when they are cold are used in exactly the same way as a quartz pebble.

At the present time quartz is hardly ever used in this way, for the natives greatly prefer glass, and they obtain sufficient old bottles from Port Blair to satisfy their requirements. The bottom of a bottle is treated in every way as though it was a quartz pebble, a flake being knocked off and used, and then another and so on till the operation in hand (whether shaving or scarifying) is completed. The flake is held between the thumb and first finger when it is being used. In no case is a flake of quartz or glass ever kept. It is only made when required and after having been used is thrown away.

The natives themselves say that they formerly never made any use of stone for cutting purposes save in the case of stone flakes as described above. As against this there are three statements that must be considered. Colebrooke, who visited the islands in 1789, says of the Andamanese that "their canoes are hollowed out of the trunks of trees by means of fire and instruments of stone, having no iron in use amongst them, except such utensils as they have procured from the Europeans and sailors who have lately visited these islands; or from the wrecks of vessels formerly stranded on their coasts." The accuracy of Colebrooke's statement is made doubtful by the fact that at the present time (since 1858) the natives do not use fire in making their canoes, and it seems improbable that if they had this custom in 1789 they should have discontinued it and have entirely forgotten that it ever existed. Further if they used implements of stone in 1789 it is certainly strange that by 1858 they should have entirely forgotten that they ever did so. When Mr Man was making his enquiries

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- 412 the oldest men all agreed in stating that they never used stone
324 for their adzes. We may conclude that Colebrooke's statement is untrustworthy.

Stoliczka records the finding in the South Andaman of a stone celt and a stone arrow-head in the kitchen-middens of the South Andaman. The chief reason for doubting the value of this find is that Stoliczka states that these implements were made of tertiary sandstone, which it is very hard to believe would be of any use whatever. We may therefore adopt the opinion of M. Lapique¹ that Stoliczka had found fragments of a whet-stone of sandstone and had been misled into thinking that he had found an axe and an arrow-head.

A third statement that needs to be considered is one by Mr Portman, who presented to the British Museum an arrow with a head of stone made specially for him by a native of the North Andaman who stated that in former times such arrow-heads were used by the Andamanese. At the present time the arrow-head is broken and it would seem to be so fragile as to be entirely worthless for the purpose to which it was supposed to be put. The natives of the North Andaman whom I questioned stated that they did not use stone for their arrow-heads, but shell. We may therefore hold that the evidence given by Mr Portman is not at all satisfactory.

In the Akar-Bale tribe I heard a legend that at a certain spot there is a kind of stone which was used by the ancestors for making adzes. I visited the spot and the stone was pointed out to me. Unfortunately the specimen that I took was lost and I am therefore unable to state what the stone was, but it was such that it would have been utterly impossible to make any sort of adze out of it. It was of a crystalline nature and was easily fractured by a blow against even a soft substance such as wood. It was clear that the native statements about it were merely a legend having no historical value.

We may justifiably conclude that it is probable that the statement of the natives to the effect that before they possessed iron in any quantity they made their adzes and arrow-heads out of shell and not out of stone, is correct. Their use of stone for cutting was therefore confined to the flakes which have been described.

- 412 The most important material to the Andamanese seems to have
321 been shell. Mollusc shells were used in the natural form or after having been manufactured. The chief shell used in its natural form is

¹ Lapique, "Ethnographie des Iles Andaman," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1894, p. 370.

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the *Cyrena* which serves at the present time as a knife, a scraper and a spoon. Even when they have knives of iron and steel they still use the *Cyrena* shell in preference for some purposes. It is used as a scraper in preparing fibres for rope and thread, in making arrows, as a knife for cutting thatching leaves and cane and even thread and rope, and for making incised patterns on bows and arrows. The shells are always to be found lying about their encampments, and a few are always carried with them when they migrate to a fresh camp. Those living inland obtain their supply of shells from their friends on the coast.

When in use the shell is clasped between the thumb and first finger, the thumb passing over the convex side and the finger round the hinged edge. The remaining fingers are used to clasp the object that is being scraped or cut. In cutting, the motion is away from the body, being produced by a twist of the wrist. In scraping the motion is away from the body, or from left to right. A knife of iron or steel is held in this way by the natives whenever it is used for any purpose for which they formerly would have used a shell. The blade is clasped near the handle between the thumb and first finger, the back of the blade pressing against the root of the thumb, and the handle away from the body.

Another shell that is used in its natural form is a small whelk shell that is used as a scraper for scraping off the outer skin of mangrove seeds in preparing them for food.

A shell that is used in very nearly its natural form is a kind of pearl shell that grows along creeks through the mangrove swamps. The shell is only very slightly curved and it is for this reason that it is selected as suitable. The weak edge or lip of the valve is broken away, and the edge is then slightly ground on a stone. This implement is used by women for slicing yams and certain other vegetables such as some kinds of seeds when they are being prepared for food.

The natives say that before iron was plentiful they used shells for the heads of their pig-arrows. Several different species of shell seem to have been used, the chief concern being to obtain a piece of sufficient size that was as nearly flat as possible. Such shells are those belonging to the larger bivalves. The natives state that their method of working the shell was to break it roughly into shape with stones and then grind it down on a whet-stone until it was given a sufficiently sharp point and edge. Some arrow-heads of shell were made for me by this method at my request by one of the old men of the North Andaman.

The natives state that before they had iron they made their adzes of shell. Two different men of the North Andaman made two shell adzes

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321 for me, one of *Pinna* shell, and the other of a shell that I omitted to identify. The *Pinna* shell adze seemed to me only suitable for light work such as finishing off a bow or a canoe, as it seemed likely to break under a strong blow. The other adze was much stronger and therefore capable of heavy work, and although the edge seemed to me to make it a poor implement with which to cut down a tree yet it certainly did not seem less suitable than the stone adzes used by many primitive peoples. If I were given a choice of implements with which to fell a tree, between the shell adze of the Andamanese and a stone axe of South-western Australia I should certainly choose the former.

According to the natives they formerly used bone for the points of their fish-arrows and for the barbs of their pig-arrows. For both of these purposes they now use iron. The bone was broken into a piece of suitable length and then ground down with a whet-stone. Apparently the bone most frequently used was the tibia of the pig. For their fish-arrows they also made use of the bone of the tail of the sting-ray,—its “sting.” When the fish was caught the bone was knocked off and reserved for use. It required no treatment whatever, being simply bound on to the point of the fore-shaft in the same way that an iron point is now attached.

Colebrooke, in 1789, described their arrows as “headed with fish-bones or the tusks of wild hogs, sometimes merely with a sharp bit of wood hardened in the fire.” By fish-bone he probably means the bone of the sting-ray. Where he writes the tusks of wild hogs we should probably read “the bones.” A boar’s tusk is curved, and it seems impossible to imagine how it could possibly be used as an arrow-head or arrow-point.

The boar’s tusk is used by the Andamanese as an implement, however, making a very efficient sort of spokeshave. The edge which is used is kept sharp by scraping with a quartz or glass flake or with a *Cyrena* shell. The edge is near the point (at *a* in Fig. 27) and the tusk is clasped at the other end between the forefinger and the root of the thumb (at *b* in Fig. 27), the movement being away from the body. It is used for planing bows and paddles, and in the

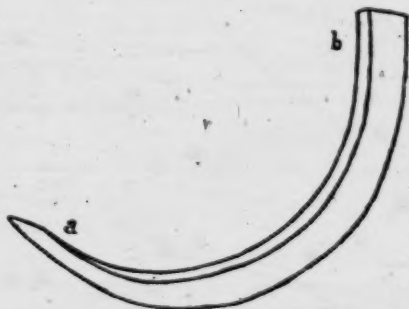


Fig. 27. Boar's tusk, used as a spokeshave

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hands of an Andaman Islander is a very efficient implement, producing a beautifully smooth and even surface. 321

Of wood the Andamanese formerly made knives and arrow-points. The knives were made of a slip of bamboo or cane shaped and sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell. Such knives were used for cutting meat and apparently for no other purpose. A knife was always attached by a short length of cord to a skewer of pointed *Areca* wood. The double implement was used in cooking and eating, the skewer serving to lift pieces of meat in and out of a pot, while the knife served to cut them. At the present time the cane or bamboo knife is replaced by a knife made from hoop-iron, but the shape of the original implement is retained as nearly as possible and a skewer of *Areca* wood is generally attached to it. 4/2 322



Fig. 28. Adze and knife

As has been already stated, the Andamanese formerly used hard wood such as that of the *Areca* palm for the points and heads of their arrows. They do not seem to have made use of bamboo in this way.

At the present time iron is used for the blades of adzes, for the heads and barbs of pig-arrows, the points of fish-arrows, the heads of harpoons, and for knives. The method of working the metal is apparently exactly the same as the method they formerly used for working shell and bone. For the head of a pig-arrow a suitable piece of iron is taken and a fragment of about the right size is broken off by means of a stone hammer. This is then roughly broken into the required shape, no heat being used, and no advantage being taken of the malleability of the metal. The next process is to grind it on a 4/11 4/2 325

411 whet-stone. The natives are always eager to obtain files which enable
 412 them to do this part of the work much more rapidly. When the arrow-
 325 head has been ground into shape the edges are sharpened. Blades for
 adzes are made in exactly the same way from any suitable piece of iron
 or steel, such as a cutlass or an old file or a piece of thick hoop-iron.
 The adze-blade is attached to a handle of mangrove wood by the
 method shown in Fig. 28.

The barbs of pig-arrows and the points of fish-arrows are made
 in the same way by breaking the metal into a suitable shape and then
 grinding it on a whet-stone. It is probable that this was the method
 that was formerly used for dealing with bone for these purposes.

In the case of the knife, iron or steel is now substituted for cane or
 bamboo, but the knife has retained its shape in spite of the change of
 material. The shape of a knife, whether of cane or of iron, with its
 attached skewer of ~~iron~~ wood is shown in Fig. 28.

In the case of the harpoon the native tradition is that this imple-
 ment was only made after they had discovered the use of iron.

177 At the present time both the Semang and the Negritos of the
 325 Philippines make use of iron. The Semang heat the iron until it is
 red-hot and then batter it into shape between two stones¹. The shapes
 of the iron weapons and implements which they make follow fairly
 closely those made by the Malays.

In an attempt to reconstruct the primitive Negrito culture it would
 seem that the most reasonable hypothesis is that the primitive Negritos
 had no knowledge of iron and had not learnt to fashion implements out
 of stone, but relied entirely on such materials as wood, bone and shell.
 The Andamanese, becoming possessed of iron through wrecks upon
 their islands, applied to it the technique that they had developed for
 dealing with shell, and thereby invented their present method of
 working iron without heating it. The Semang and the Negritos of the
 Philippines probably first learnt the use of iron from their neighbours
 of other races. There is not at present any evidence to show that
 the Negritos ever had any method of working stone except the very
 simple one at present in use in the Andamans for making flakes.

STRING, ROPE, MATS, BASKETS, AND NETTING.

283 For string, rope and thread the Andaman Islanders make use of a
 number of different vegetable substances, but they make no use what-

¹ Skeat, p. 383.

- 412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

- 222 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by
227 attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

- 352 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways.
824 The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

- 373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper. These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

- 291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

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415 pottery are in use, as has been supposed,¹ unless the fact of certain molluscs² being cooked in their shells can be so described. Broken pottery is not buried in graves or beneath landmarks, but is cast aside as rubbish.

9. No kind of painting or varnishing is ever attempted, and models of men or animals are never made. They are also ignorant of glazing and of making porous pottery for cooling vessels.

412 **Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures.**—1. The natural forms of stones are employed by the Andamanese, as by other savage tribes, as anvils and hammers. Like the natives of New Guinea,³ they always carry with them, or keep ready for use, one or more *Cyrena* shells (*ū-ta*-), as these serve them in a great variety of ways: for example, in *dressing* and *preparing* the wooden portion of their arrows; in *sharpening* their bamboo and cane⁴ knives, and the inner edge of the boar's tusk, in order to adapt it *for use as a plane; as a spoon,⁵ in eating gravy, &c.; as a knife, in cutting thatching leaves, &c., and in severing the joints of meat; and as a scraper in separating the pulp from the fibre of the Anodendron paniculatum and other plants, from which they manufacture their various descriptions of string and cord; these shells are likewise employed in making the ornamental incisions in their weapons, implements, leaf-ornaments, &c.,⁶ in preparing the peculiar ūj-⁷ appendage (worn when dancing); and they are also frequently used for planing purposes.⁸ Indeed, I think I may fairly say that among their savage arts there is probably nothing so calculated to surprise and interest a stranger as the many and clever uses to which necessity has taught them to put this simple but highly effective tool.*

¹ This refers to the following passage in the late Dr. Stoliczka's "Note on the Kjöken-Moddings of the Andaman Islands";—"I have been informed that in some parts of the island their only cooking utensils are large specimens of *Turbo marmoratus*, valves of *Tridacna gigas*, and others."

² Viz.:—*Cyrena*, *Arca*, *Mytilus smaragdinus*, *Cerithium*, *Patella variabilis* (limpet), and a few other small varieties.

³ "They always carry with them a bamboo knife; . . . when required they sharpen the edge with a shell (a fresh water species of *Cyrena*), which is always carried for the purpose. . . ." (See a paper on the natives of the Fly River, New Guinea, by Signor L. M. d'Albertis, in the Journ. Anthropol. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215, 1876).

⁴ Like the Tahitians and Fijians of former times they have also been in the habit of using bamboo knives; these are made of the outside of a piece of bamboo, are shaped into form while green, and are then dried and charred so as to render them as hard and sharp as possible.

⁵ "The mussel-shell suggested the first idea of the spoon, and still performs its functions on the Atlantic shores of Morocco" (Peschel).

⁶ Vide "Ornamentation," paragraph 2.

⁷ Vide Appendix B, item 76.

⁸ It has already been mentioned under "Food" (paragraph 8) that the *Cyrena* is also used in opening other bivalves.

2. *Arca* shells, on account of their serrated lips, serve the double purpose—when a pot is being manufactured—of removing pieces of stone from the outer surface, and of imparting a more finished appearance to the vessel. *Pinna* shells are kept as receptacles for *tá-la-ög*, and as plates for food, while *Nautilus* shells do duty as drinking vessels. No evidence can be found in support of Mr. St. John's statement,¹ that human skulls are used as boxes to contain small objects, for neither these nor the skulls of animals appear to have been ever so employed;² the former are kept and carried, as I have elsewhere explained, merely as mementoes of the departed, and the latter are stuck on poles, or hung round the eaves of their huts, as trophies of the chase. *Pinna* and other shells are said to have been used in former times as adze blades, but this is no longer the case, for quantities of iron are always obtainable. Strange as it may seem to some of my readers, there is no trace or tradition of stone having been utilised for this purpose.

3. The only instances in which these tribes appear to have had recourse to the natural defences of animals in the manufacture of their weapons are—(a) in the use of the serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray³ for their fish-arrows; and (b) of the valves of *Perna ephippium*,⁴ which were formerly—after being ground and shaped—fastened to their wooden-headed arrows, for use in hunting, and in hostile expeditions. Since, however, they have found themselves able to procure ample supplies of iron, these shell arrow-heads, like the shell adze-blades, have been discarded in favour of iron wire, nails, hoop-iron, &c.

4. The bamboo, although not employed by the Andamanese in such a variety of ways as it is by many savages, is yet in constant use in one or other of the following modes, viz:—of the ordinary medium size (male species) they form the shafts of their turtle-harpoons;⁵ of the female species⁶ they make water-holders, and receptacles for cooked food⁷ when travelling (*gób-á*); knives (*pó-chó-á*), which are narrow pieces hardened

¹ Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc., vol. v, p. 43.

² Very possibly the belief originated in the manner I suggested in a previous paper (vide Journ. Anthropol. Inst., vol. xi, p. 273).

³ Vide ante "Hunting, &c.," paragraph 11.

⁴ Vide post "Stone Implements," paragraph 5 (footnote).

⁵ The shafts of their pig spear, being short are made of heavier material, viz., the thick rattan.

⁶ Pieces of *Bambusa gigantea*, which have floated across from Burmah, or have reached their shores from wrecks, are much prized as buckets, none but the small ordinary bamboo being indigenous.

⁷ Vide ante "Food," paragraph 31.

⁸ Vide Appendix B, item 82.

⁹ Ibid., 69.

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314 over a fire, and sharpened by means of a *Cyrena* shell; netting-needles (*pôtòkla*¹) and tongs (*kai*²), which last consist merely of a strip of bamboo, bent double, with pointed ends;³ the slender *Bambusa nana*, called *rīdi*, is generally selected for forming the hooked pole (*ngātanga*⁴), and it is likewise invariably employed for the shafts of their wooden and iron-pointed arrows.

534 5. Although there are materials ready to hand wherewith they might easily construct a few such simple musical instruments as are made and used by the Nicobarese, no attempt seems to have been made by them in this direction, for the rude sounding board (*pūkuta-yem'ngo*⁵) can hardly be included under this head. This circumstance seems to find its explanation in the fact that though they are good timists their talent for music is (as will be presently shown,⁶ on the testimony of more than one competent authority) of the lowest type.

412 6. A brush, suitable for painting the stripes on their baskets (*jōb*⁷), baby-slings (*chīp*⁸), &c., is obtained from a drupe of the small fruit of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* (*māng*), the pulp having been first extracted by means of a *Cyrena* shell.

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314 7. Skins of animals, thorns, or spines of trees are not made use of by these people in any way, nor do they have recourse to caves, rock-shelters, or tree-tops for their dwellings, though they occasionally, as I have before mentioned, avail themselves of the buttress-like formations of the roots of such trees as the *Ficus laccifera*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Sterculia villosa*, &c., when travelling in bad weather, or when suddenly overtaken by a storm. Palm-leaves, as I explained when describing their habitations,⁹ are employed for thatching purposes.

281 8. *Leather-work*.—From the last paragraph it will be correctly inferred that there is no evidence of their having ever possessed a knowledge of the art of dressing and preparing skins for use in any form: this may be due as much to the limited number and variety of those animals¹⁰ whose hides might be turned to account in this way as to the equable temperature of the climate, which renders such, or indeed any covering unnecessary.

¹ Vide Appendix B, item 67.

² Vide Appendix B, item 80.

³ A narrow and pointed piece of bamboo, bitten at the end so as to loosen the fibres, is made to serve as a brush in painting designs on their buckets, sounding boards, &c.

⁴ Vide Appendix B, item 17.

⁵ Vide Appendix B, item 19.

⁶ Vide post "Games and Amusements," paragraph 35, and footnote.

⁷ Vide post "Basket-work," paragraph 3, and Appendix B, item 21.

⁸ Vide Appendix B, item 24.

⁹ Vide ante "Habitations," paragraph 2.

¹⁰ Viz., dugong, porpoise, *paradoxurus*, iguana, and pig.

Metallurgy.—Having been, till comparatively recent times, ignorant almost of the existence as well as of the uses of iron, it is not to be wondered at that smelting and forging have been to them unknown arts. Now that they are better informed, and are able to procure pieces of hoop-iron, keel-plate, &c., they apply them to the manufacture of their blades and adzes, reducing them to the required thinness by continually striking the cold metal with a hard smooth stone (*taili-ban'a*¹) on a rude anvil (*rârap*-) of the same substance; such portions of the iron as are then found to exceed the dimensions requisite for the weapon or tool under construction are placed over the edge of the anvil and broken off by dint of repeated blows: the new edge thus formed, being more or less jagged, is then ground on a hone till the blade assumes the desired shape. Many of the aborigines who have been living for some time at Port Blair have, however, advanced a stage beyond this, for, by using such old chisels as they may succeed in procuring, they contrive to make their arrow-heads and other implements much more speedily than by the old method. The pointed weapons, e.g., the *kowai'a*- and *tôlbô'd*-, are made from pieces of stout wire, large nails, &c., by dint of laborious and patient hammering on the *rârap*-, and grinding on the *tâlag*-. 325

Stone Implements.—1. Although a great portion of the inhabitants of Great Andaman have for some time past been able through us to procure iron in sufficient quantities to substitute it for stone (not to mention bones and shells), still they can by no means be said to have passed out of the stone age; indeed, the more distant tribes still retain the use, with scarcely any modification, of most of the stone and other implements which served their ancestors. Even the inmates of the homes at Port Blair may still often be seen employing one or other of them, evidently therefore from choice: this more especially refers to the first three in the following list,² which comprises the small number of stone implements in ordinary use among the present aboriginal inhabitants of the islands:— 324
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rârap-, the anvil.

taili-ban'a-, the hammer (probably a smooth round piece of dolerite or fine-grained basalt).

tâlag-, the whetstone (consisting of slightly micaceous sandstone).

tôlma lôko tûg-³ (lit., *quartz tooth*), chips or flakes for shaving, tattooing, &c.

¹ Vide next section, paragraph 1.

² There are no special makers, or procurers, of these stones.

³ These are either fragments of opaque whitish vein quartz, or of transparent rock crystal, or are obtained from pebbles of opaque bluish-white quartz with

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lá-, cooking stones; common pebbles, about a couple of inches in diameter, which are heated, and then placed on all sides of the food which it is intended to cook.

2. When a new *whetstone* is required—as no method of cutting stone is known to them—a block of soft sandstone is chosen, which, if too large, is placed on a fire till it breaks; the piece best adapted for the purpose is then taken and shaped according to fancy, by the aid of one of the hard smooth stone hammers; after being used a short time the edges wear down, and it answers as a hone for several months.¹

3. Chips and flakes are never used more than once; in fact, several are generally employed in each operation: those having a sharp blade-like edge are reserved for shaving, while others with a fine point are kept for tattooing or scarifying; when done with they are thrown on a refuse heap, or otherwise disposed of, lest injury should befall anyone by inadvertently treading on them. [462] Flaking is regarded as one of the duties of women, and is usually performed by them.²

4. For making *chips* two pieces of white quartz are needed; the stones are not pressed against the thigh, nor are they bound round tightly so as to increase the line of least resistance to the blow of the flaker; but one of the pieces is first heated and afterwards allowed to cool, it is then held firmly and struck at right angles with the other stone: by this means is obtained in a few moments a number of fragments suitable for the purposes above mentioned. A certain knack is apparently necessary in order to produce the kind of chips which are at the time required: the smallest flakes are obtained in the same manner and never by pressure.

5. Glass chips are now generally used by all who are in communication with ourselves, in preference to those of flint, as they are sharper and more effective; the method in which they are obtained is the same, the thick lump of glass forming the bottom of beer and wine bottles being selected for the purpose, and never the thinner portions.

6. It has been stated³ that formerly, for tattooing, a "sharpened flint bound to a stick" was used, and that the present instrument is a bit of broken bottle "inserted into the split extremity of a stick;" no instance has, however, been found confirmatory of the words quoted, and the Andamanese

fatty lustre, thin chips of which are translucent at the edges. (For this description I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Rudler.)

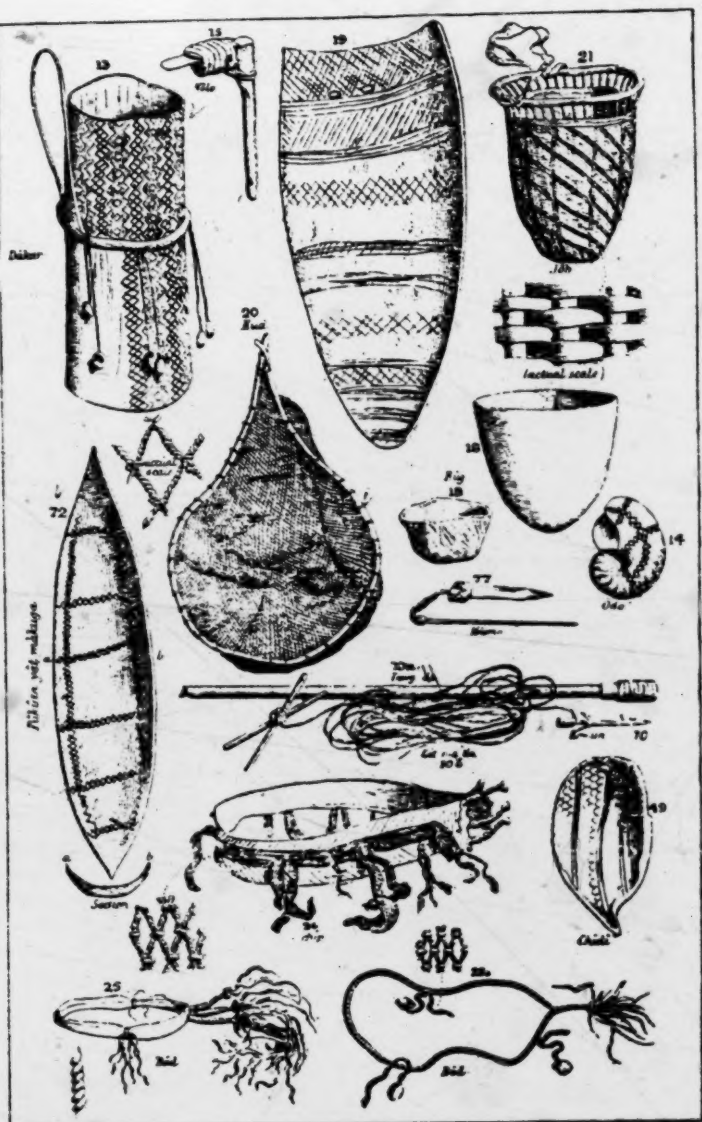
¹ For the mode of use *vide* Appendix B, item 52.

² All women can scarify and act as barbers, but only about 50 per cent. of them undertake the more difficult task of tattooing.

³ *Vide* Dr. Day.

Plate C.

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ANDAMANES OBJECTS,

[facing p. 178]

415⁻ 14. *ō-do*.¹ Nautilus shells painted with *kā-ngatā-būj*- (item 62), and used as drinking vessels.

412 15. *wō-lo*.² Adze: this tool is used not only in making canoes, buckets, bows, &c., but in digging graves. The handle consists of an L-shaped piece of mangrove wood, *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad'a*-), and the blade is generally made of such pieces of iron as the keel-plate of a boat; formerly *Pinna* and such like shells are said to have been used, but strange to say it does not appear that stone celts were ever so employed.

[222] 16. *lā-kā*.³ A long pointed stick of the *Memecylon varians*, (Andam., *pē-taing*-) or *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad'a*-), which is used as a hoe in digging up yams and other edible roots.

[NOTE.—A similar implement is found in use among the Australians.⁴]

[222] 17. *tōg-ngā-tāngā*.⁵ Pole, 12 to 15 feet long, of *Bambusa nana* (Andam., *rī-di*-), to which a short piece of bamboo is securely fastened, with a strip of cane (Andam., *pī-dga*-), or stout cord, to form a hook; it is used in gathering fruit—especially jack-fruit (*Artocarpus chaplasha*)—and is the only object of the nature of a hook made by the Andamanese.

415 18. *būj*.⁶ Cooking pot: these are made of various sizes by members of both sexes, and are shaped by the hand and eye only;⁷ after being sun-dried they are surrounded with, and filled by pieces of lighted wood in order to complete the process of baking. When needed for travelling they are fitted with light wicker frames (*būj-rā-mata*-) to facilitate their removal, and to protect them from injury. The capacity of an average-sized pot is 9 or 10 pints.

[NOTE.—The *yē-rewā*- and *jā-rawā*-pots have a conical base, and in this respect differ from those made by the tribes of South Andaman.]

534 19. *pū-kuta-yem'nga*.⁸ Sounding-boards—used for marking time during a song or dance⁹—which are scooped out of the fallen trunks of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* (Andam., *chā-lāngā*-), the wood of which is very hard; they are always of the same shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as 5 feet long and 2 feet wide; the concave side is generally ornamented with designs in white clay (*tā-la-ōg*-, item 58). When in use the

¹ Vide Plate VII, fig. 20.

² Vide Plate VII, fig. 13.

³ Vide Plate IX, fig. 2.

⁴ Vide "Anthropology," p. 216, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.

⁵ Vide Plate IX, fig. 1.

⁶ Vide Plate VII, fig. 19.

⁷ Vide Part III, "Pottery," paragraph 4 and 6.

⁸ Vide Plate VII, fig. 15.

⁹ Vide Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 27.

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ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 182]

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37. *bē-wa-tā* .. made of red coral.
 38. *rā-tā-ō-la-tā* .. " small sea shells.
 39. *rē-keto-tā*¹ .. " *Hemicardium unedo* shells.
 40. *ngā'tya-tā*² and *jū-mu-tā* .. mangrove seed tops.
 41. *garen len pī-d* .. " *Dentalium octogonum* and children's hair.³

42. *rāb*.⁴ Fine netting, plain or ornamented with shells, worn occasionally by both sexes as necklaces, armlets, &c. Baby-slings (item 24), bows, pig-spears, &c., are sometimes ornamented with pieces of this netting.

[462]

43. *rā*. Ornamental cord, made by men from the yellow skin of an orchid root, and worn round the waist intertwined sometimes with fibres of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al'aba*-). It is also occasionally interwoven with fibres of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō'ba*-), in order to make ornamental fastenings for arrows, turtle harpoons, and personal adornments.

[751]

44. *chāwga-tā*.⁵ Human bone necklaces sometimes ornamented with *Dentalium octogonum*. These are worn as charms during illness by friends or relatives of the deceased, and may be often seen tied tightly round the part in pain; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease.⁶

45. *chāwga lōt chē-tā*.⁷ Human skull, carried in memoriam by relatives of the deceased.⁸

46. *chāwga l'ā-kā ē-kīb*.⁹ Human jaw, which is carried in a similar manner.¹⁰

47. *pī'līcha*.¹¹ Boar's tusk, used for planing bows, paddles, &c., as it answers this purpose, in their hands, admirably, it is much valued; when required for use the inner edge is sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell.

48. *tai-li-ban'a*.¹² Stone hammer, which the men now use principally in beating out iron for arrow-heads, &c., and the women when making bone necklaces.

49. *chī-dī*.¹³ *Pinna* shell, used as plates for food, or as receptacles for pigments.

¹ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 45.

² Vide Plate VIII, fig. 73.

³ An interesting description of these various necklaces will be found in a paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., Journ. Anthropol. Inst., vol. xi, p. 295.

⁴ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 34.

⁵ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 46.

⁶ Vide Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 2, 7, 8.

⁷ Vide Plate IX, fig. 7.

⁸ Vide Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 5 and 19.

⁹ Vide Plate IX, fig. 7a.

¹⁰ Vide Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 9.

¹¹ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 65.

¹² Vide Plate VIII, fig. 72.

¹³ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 26.

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4/2 50. *tōlma l'oko tūg-* and *bījma l'oko tūg-*.¹ Quartz and glass flakes and chips used for shaving, scarifying, and tattooing.²

51. *a'ta-*.³ *Cyrena* shell: great use is made of this, and of other varieties of this class, viz., as knives for cutting thatching leaves, for making the ornamental incisions on bows, paddles, &c., for planing, for sharpening the boar's tusk (item 47), for dressing and preparing arrows, for making the *ūj-* (item 76), for preparing the fibres obtained from the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al'aba-*), *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*), and the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yo'lba-*); they are also used as spoons in eating the gravy of pork; turtle, &c., and are in fact so constantly in demand that a supply is always kept and carried about ready for use.

52. *tā-lag-*.⁴ Hone or whetstone, which when in use is held in the right hand and applied to the edge of the blade, which is generally held over the inner side of the left foot, the operator being seated on the ground; pointed weapons are sharpened on it in the usual way.

53. *nīp lār bū-l-*. Serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray; in former times their *tōlbōd-* arrows (items 4 and 7) were headed with these bones, and it is believed that the early reports of the poisoned arrows of the Andamanese are entirely due to this circumstance; for, owing to their fragile spikes, these bones are apt to cause very serious flesh wounds.⁵

54. *gar-en-*. *Dentalium octogonum* used in the manufacture of various personal ornaments.

314 55. *rim-*. Resin obtained from a large tree (*Celtis* or *Girronniera*) of that name, which is used in making *kā'ngatā-būj-* (vide item 62).

237 56. *ā'ja-pūd-*. Wax of the white honeycomb: it is one of the ingredients in *kā'ngatā-būj-* (item 62), and is also used in the manufacture of the *chā'panga-* (item 22).

57. *tōbul-pūd-* or *lē-re-*. Wax of the black honeycomb, made by a small description of bee in the hollows of trees: it is generally procured by men, and is applied to bowstrings, arrow fastenings, and the *kūd* (item 20) is used for caulking cracks in canoes and buckets.

[NOTE.—The honey is eaten, but is not so much relished as that from the white combs.]

¹ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 61.

² Vide Part III, "Stone Implements," paragraphs 3-6.

³ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 63.

⁴ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 56.

⁵ "These wounds often cause great inflammation, whence a notion has been prevalent from ancient times that the sting is charged with venom, but of this there is no evidence. Other species of the sting-ray are plentiful in the warmer parts of the world, and they are everywhere dreaded. The spine is used by the savages of the South Sea Islands to point their spears" ("Chambers's Cyclop.").

substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large.

63. *chū'nga*-. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kōi'ob-chū'nga*- (vide footnote ⁵, p. 184).

64. *yō'lba*-. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *chā'panga*- (item 22), and *rāb*- (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons.

65. *pī'lita*-. (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd*- (item 20), and *pā'repa*- (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose.

66. *al'aba*-. (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē'tmō*-), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chip* (item 24) or baby-slings are made.

67. *pō'tōkka*-.¹ Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets.

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū'tegbo*-.²]

68. *pō'chō*-. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.³

69. *wai'chō*- and *pōr'chō*-. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō'ug*-.⁴ Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum loricifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or

¹ Vide Plate IX, fig. 12.

² These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē'rewil*-.

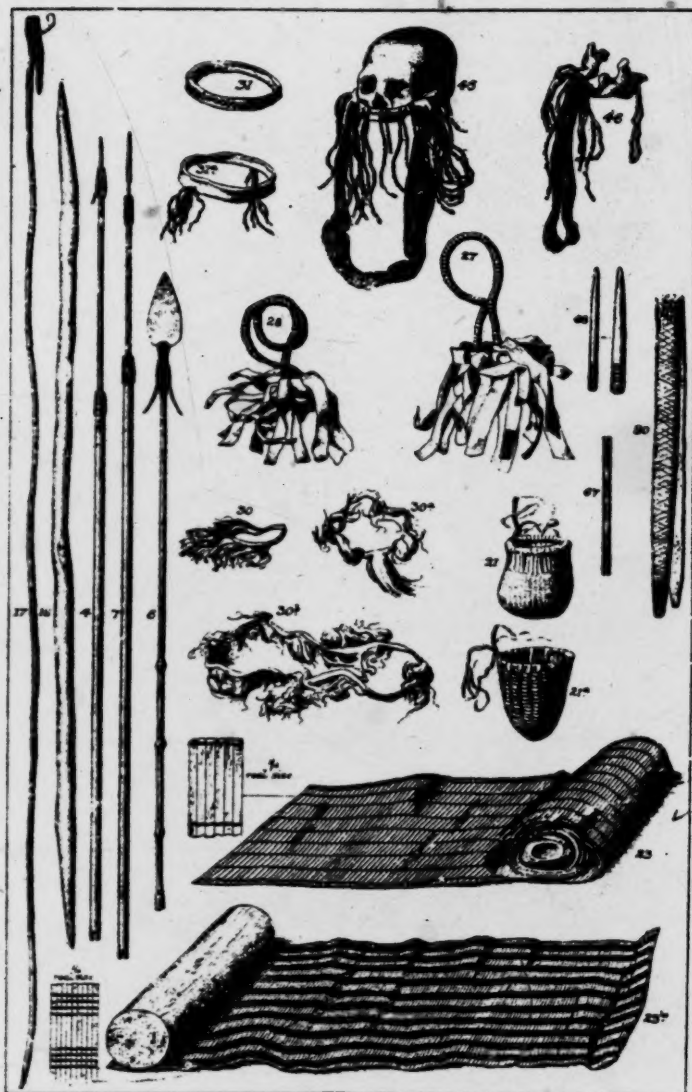
³ Vide Plate IX, fig. 10.

⁴ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 68.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate E.

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ANDAMANES OBJECTS

[facing p. 186]

373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *mai'-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lā-pi*-. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus laevis* (Andam., *d'rain*-): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō-ug*- (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 [462] 72. *pū-kuta-yāt-māk-nga*-.¹ Food tray, made by men of some soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceae*) of which their canoes are made.

764 [462] 73. *d'ra*-. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encampment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.²

285 [462] 74. *kā-pa-jā-nga*-. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kā-pa*-), two of which are fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār-epa*- (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kā-pa*-. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj*-.³ Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lanca-folia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

● 412 77. *kō-no*-.⁴ Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *chām-chō*-.⁵

291 79. *ō-bungu*-. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō-gota*-), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd*- by women from motives of modesty;⁶ the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

¹ Vide Plate VII, fig. 16.

² Vide Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.

³ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 37.

⁴ Vide Plate VIII, fig. 21.

⁵ This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (vide footnote 1, p. 175).

⁶ Vide Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

- 291 particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh for a longer time than any other.

[NOTE.—The women of the North Andaman tribes, until recent years, appear to have worn no *d-buaga*, or only in a very modified form; the change which is now observable among them in this respect is doubtless to be traced to their intercourse with the people of South Andaman.]

- 412 [462] 80. *kai*.¹ Bamboo tonga, made by women, and used for any purpose which would involve a risk of burning or scalding the fingers, such as lifting a pot or piece of cooked food off the fire.

- 415 81. *ko'pôt*. Bucket made from a single joint of the *Bambusa gigantea*, pieces of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated ashore from the neighbouring continent or from wrecks; they are much valued on account of their lightness and the labour saved in making a wooden bucket (*dākar*; item 13), which being, as before described, scooped out of a single piece of wood, is a laborious undertaking.

[NOTE.—The origin of the *dākar* is doubtless to be traced to the *Boiplo*.]

82. *gōb*. Bamboo vessel, of which there are two varieties, viz., (a) for use as a water-holder: this is often 4 or 5 feet long, the partitions at the joints being broken through with a spear head or other suitable instrument, the lowest one only being left to form the bottom of the vessel; and (b) for use as a cooking pot and food-holder: its length consists of a single joint of bamboo, into which—after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire—food is packed and cooked; as will be seen by reference to Part III,² these vessels are only capable of serving on a single occasion; the handle is formed with a piece of *bē'tma*.

83. *lā*. Cooking stones: the mode in which they are used is described in Part III.³

- 412 84. *kā'ta-ngā'tanga* (lit., crab-hook). An implement employed for picking up live crabs between rocks, in order to save the fingers from being nipped; it consists merely of a branch broken off the *Rhizophora conjugata*, which (unlike other trees) at once furnishes a strong hook suitable for the above purpose.

85. *ā'ra-tig-jē'rabnga*. Tufted leaf brushes, which are used for the same purpose as the *ā'ra* (item 73), and also by persons recently tattooed to drive away flies.

[A few other objects, omitted from this list, will be found described in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, pp. 457-465.]

¹ Vide Plâté IX, fig. 11.

² Vide "Food," paragraph 31.

³ Vide paragraph 27, and "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigiyah were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his personal.

619
184 Their Division into three Groups.—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigijiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigiyah, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Onge-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septa, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that serve as keys to all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing*.—Bojigijiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Onge-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair*.—Bojigijiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Onge-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Onge-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing*.—Bojigijiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Onge-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigijiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigijijis and Yereawas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Onge-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Onge-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils*.—Bojigijiji and Yereawas, slight: Onge-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots*.—Bojigijijis, pots with rounded bottom: Onge-Jarawas and Yereawas with pointed bottom.

● [412] (6) *Implements*.—Bojigijijis and Yereawas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Onge-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets*.—Bojigijijis and Yereawas have a 'kick' and stand well: Onge-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows*.—Bojigijiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Onge-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows*.—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Onge-Jarawas and Yereawas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

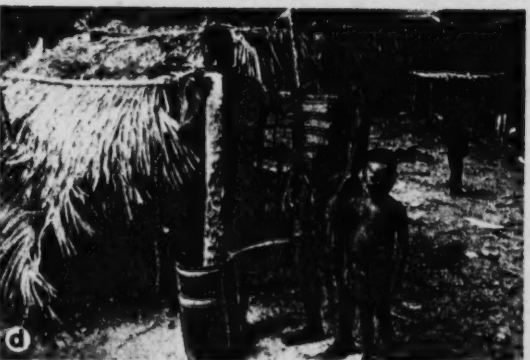
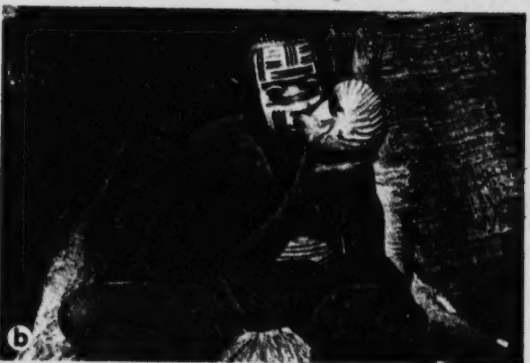
(10) *Harpoons*.—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigijijis and Yereawas: none among the Onge-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought to short.

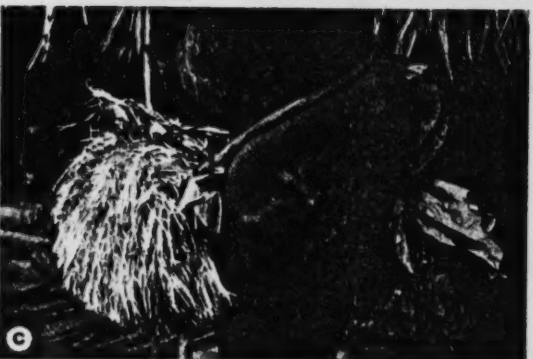
Lidio Cipriani, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the
Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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- a) Onge communal hut.
- b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
- c) Woman with *betaghe* leaves.
- d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

ing edible matter ; furthermore, they don't care to take the trouble as food is generally plentiful. We must also realize that they find salt repulsive. Even honey - so easily kept for many months - is disposed of, if possible, on the very same day it is collected. Incredible quantities of this or other food may be consumed for days and nights on end until everything disappears. Very few of the islanders care to vary their meat diet with an occasional diet of vegetables in order to disintoxicate the system ; yet nourishing yams and other roots grow wild and plentiful. They are so rich in carbohydrates that I preferred them to potatoes and rice. I may add that the Onge, on my request, brought me yams and roots that they were glad to barter with-rice, tea and sugar - soon declared by their wise men to possess medicinal properties.

The Onge's stomach, intestines and general physiological equilibrium suffer from lack of salt and such bad nutritional habits as those described. They damage the human body, together with unrestrained sexual activity.

One highly unhygienic custom of the Onge is the use, all over Little Andaman, of peculiar sucking-sticks. These pass from mouth to mouth during the frequent meat or honey orgies indulged in by the natives.

When boiling pork or turtle, a quantity of liquid fat floats on the surface of the broth. Though the Onge despise the broth, they don't like to waste the fat. So they devised an efficient solution : they suck the fat up by means of a wad of absorbent matter obtained by chewing the end of a fibrous stick selected among many species of trees in the forest. The end of the stick is chewed along a section of 5 cms, the remaining part - about 25 cms long and 2 cms thick - is used as a handle to prevent the fingers from burning.

In every Onge camp sucking-sticks are permanently in evidence owing to the inmates' frequent ingestion of liquid fat or honey. A second version of the sucking-stick consists in a narrow, cotton-like strip, up to 80 cms long, with only a small part of the original wood remaining. This serves as a handle for dipping the stick into a wooden barrel full of honey. In both instances the same tool passes for hours from mouth to mouth : from older people to greedy children, anxious to suck the coveted delicacy off the stick that has been dipped into the pot. The rapid spreading of epidemics, which often occur in the Andamans, is certainly encouraged by the use of these sucking-sticks. I found no reference to this practice in books on the Andaman Islands.

Everything they eat, particularly meat, the Onge consider as either remedial or harmful. They are therefore chary of accepting proffered food if it is unknown to them. When I brought 30 Onge to Port Blair to introduce them to Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian Republic, they were troublesome about food. In Port Blair it was not as easy as in Little Andaman to procure whole pigs ; sometimes only pieces were available. The Andamanese Forest Department was quickly informed of the difficulty and kindly supplied the desired animals. In moments of shortage I tried to give the Onge cooked lamb, goat, chicken and pigeons ; they resolutely refused them as unhealthy. Birds are never eaten by the Onge, who consider them shelters for human souls.

immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this occurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published affirmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration - always in similar patterns and colours - with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping. When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling. It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor; it is 80 cms long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

[123] The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH*, both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects

lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT,

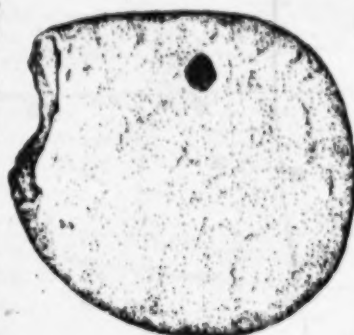


Fig. 3

[412] 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

* These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

ABORIGINAL POPULATION

AS

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *toleoga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red ochre paint is a taboo.¹

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

- (1) *Giremek-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;
- (2) *Engakwale* group live in the interior of the islands ; and
- (3) *Gireragobeule* group live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Andaman Islands.

¹ The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

[185]
[114]

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This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.¹

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It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

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[177]
[222]

The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

¹ It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

THE SILENT FOREST
 This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an
 piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest
 peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is
 found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food - baskets
 equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described
 (see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary
 use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however,
 the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, work-
 ing the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and
 expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part
 of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as pos-
 sible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman
 are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones
 of the Onges.¹ All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is
 little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter
 at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the tem-
 porary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to
 whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children,
 and what is to be carried. [428]

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots,
 men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down
 fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to
 strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest
 until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them
 about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down
 and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first
 fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call
dangbeccid, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's
 egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of
 it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case
 has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no
 problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself
 is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so
 little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits
 hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather
 like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack
 the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped [185]

¹ Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of
 giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died
 before he was able to do so. [114]

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[164] Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt, when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952-54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.¹

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239 Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.

356 One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat, fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

● [412]
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364 The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[531] ¹ From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.



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[facing p. 66, E]

/6 ... The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

FOOD FROM THE SEA

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island. 501 [237]

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages. 501 177

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today. 484 501 [184] [1721]

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet¹ has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft. 396 412 [461]

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more water-proof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries 396

¹ The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches. [237] [177]

FOOD FROM THE SEA

I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.¹ 501

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1.3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occasionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen. [824] [237] [412]

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of ownership, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to 501 531 [462] [422] [126]

¹ I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman. [114]

THE UNITY OF THE NEGRITOS

Queensland and (as the Cape Bedford type) elsewhere. Oars, method of fixing the booms and float - all are similar throughout the area, including the Andamans. 171
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Even game, once caught, is treated and distributed similarly by these peoples, from the Andamans to Oceania. Cooking is done without salt, in earth ovens (whether or not fire or red-hot stones are used) very different from those of Africa and America. The Semang and Aetà of today know how to make fire by friction, as do the peoples of New Guinea, Australia and Polynesia; the Tasmanians also have the knowledge to do so, but prefer to carry burning logs with them on their journeys, like the Andamanese. In certain parts of New Guinea and perhaps in some of the Pacific islands (as in the Andamans) the art of fire-making was unknown or possibly forgotten until recent times; it is said that the Papuans of the Bay of Astralobius knew nothing of the art until the middle of the nineteenth century. But the only sure information comes from the Andamans, where, whether through ignorance or loss of knowledge, the art of fire-making is unknown and fire is always carried everywhere. 171
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Among the objects typical of the Andamans and found also among the Semang, the Aetà, and other Oceanic peoples are the digging stick and the crude hatchet. The former, used for gathering edible roots and tubers, is merely a pointed stick, but every family possesses one. The hatchet is slightly more elaborate, having both handle and blade, and like the digging stick, occurs always in virtually the same form.¹ Objects woven from vegetable fibres are also very similar in appearance - often very durable and sometimes pleasing by any standards. In some places woven breast-plates are used in warfare, but here the Jarawas differ, using single sheets of bark. 171
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These are but a few of the many examples which one can find of this striking similarity between these widely separated peoples. And alongside cultural similarities there exist others, anthropological and physical, which cannot be overlooked. Physically the [28]
[714]
[84]
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¹ This is simply a cutting tool fixed into a natural elbow in a suitable branch. The blade is fixed into the wood near the elbow, and the branch is cut off, so as to leave a short handle. The whole thing is reminiscent of a swan's head on a long neck, and is easily turned into a crude plane or adze by revolving the blade in the haft through a right angle.

Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islander dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era.

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1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as pre-lithic.

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[181]

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the

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or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

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When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

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In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

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[411]229
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The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

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The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

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There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.